/44 cont'd/

are only rarely seen. The ho-ts'ang (or drying bin) and the granary are both built beside the house. The domesticated animals are pastured in the open fields. Corrals for cattle and pens for swine are very rarely seen.

4. Travel

The Miao live high in the mountains. From the bottom to the top of a single mountain is a long distance. Furthermore, the mountain paths are usually steep and rugged and difficult to travel on. During our field trip, we were always exhausted after visiting a Miao village, and it always took us a long time to recover. But the Miao, whether young or old, male or female, are all energetic and light as birds. They do not appear to be tired even after they have climbed several high peaks. Moreover, they all walk barefooted. Sharp stones and thorns do not bother them, and they never hurt themselves. It is usually more /45/ than a hundred li to and from a Chinese market. Starting off in the morning and returning in the evening, they never stay a day or half a day more than necessary. Only a few relatively wealthy persons ride horses.

5. Social Intercourse

The Miao are very polite in their social intercourse whether with relatives or friends. When guests leave, the host always sees them out the door. As he sees his guests off, he bends his body slightly forward with head bowed and both hands raised to the level of his head, and the guests do the same.

/130 cont'd/

Second month, twenty-first day. (Sunday)

124 At eleven o'clock in the morning we left for Wen-hua market. We had previously asked Mr. Li Hsi-ch'ing to get some of the Miao and Li of the vicinity to come here to meet us. Soon we saw the Miao headman /chia ch'ang/ of Pao-ch'a village, Wang Fu-shou arriving with a group of over 20 Miao men and women. But only a
126 few Li people came. Mr. Yang Ch'eng-chih immediately began the task of taking physical measurements of the people there, photographing them, etc. The Miao struck me as a group of very likable people. We invited them to a feast at Mr. Li's store and presented them with some small gifts. Mr. Li's wife, a Li, was visibly displeased upon
648 seeing our bestowal of favor on the Miao. I was really puzzled by this, but later upon study I began to understand the complex relationship between these two groups, which can only be grasped by someone who has actually lived among them.

181 As we were returning from Wen-hua, three or four Miao men followed us closely. They complained to us about the harships of their lives and earnestly begged us to take them along for schooling. Their desire for knowledge and education was so sincere and pressing that it amazed me greatly. This indicated the deep-hearted cry of the minority groups to which we sincerely hope the government will give special attention.

Second month, twenty-second day. (Monday)

●487 Ten o'clock in the morning, we started off for a visit to the Miao
361 village of Pao-ch'a under the guidance of the Miao headman, Wang Fu-shou. The Miao live in the high mountains, /131/ and the path to the village was unusually winding and rugged. On the way we learned from Headman Wang that Headman Lu of Ang-chi village had a large collection of written records of the Miao. We were much excited and decided to head directly for that village first. Upon our
123 arrival the villagers appeared very much disturbed, being taken aback by the unexpected presence of strangers. I hurried immediately to find Headman Lu and explained to him the reason for our abrupt arrival. This allayed their suspicion.

2:Ling & Ruey--53 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
Central China AF14

M /30 cont./

133 In the region where the rivers flow down, the hills are less steep than in the plateau area. Both sides of the rivers can be made into terraced fields, and the water from the rivers used for irrigation. Further, the rivers are navigable by small craft, thus making communication relatively easier, and the Chinese have migrated here.

M [487]

M 131 The two regions referred to above can be demarcated by the ruins of the boundary wall erected under the Ming dynasty. 648 Miao Fang-pei Lan, Shu Wang Lu /Detailed Old Records from the M.F.L./, states: "In the forty-third year of the Wan Li c 712 reign period (1615 A.D.) the Ping-pei Ts'an-cheng /Administra- 648 tive Officer of Military Preparedness/ at Ch'en and Yüan rivers, 563 Ts'ai Fu-i, reported that because the garrison outposts were so scattered and the Miao roads so rugged, it was difficult to defend against Miao incursions. He requested the appropriation of some 40,000 in gold currency for the erection of an earth wall, from T'ung-jen down to Pao-ch'ing, winding along the mountains and the streams for more than 300 li. Thus the border was made relatively secure. Again, during the second year of T'ien Chi (1622 A.D.), the assistant commissioner of the circuit of the garrison at Ch'en and Yüan rivers, Hu I-hung ordered Teng Tsu-yü, a guerrila commander, to add another 60 li of wall from Chen-ch'i-so to Hsi-ch'üeh-ying." The ruins of this wall start from Wang-hui-ying and T'ing-tzu-kuan in the southeast corner of the Miao area and proceeds northeast, ending at Hsi-ch'üeh-ying, dividing the Miao area into the southeast and the north-west regions. The building of the boundary wall under the Ming dynasty was not intentionally based on the topography but rather in accordance with the limits of Chinese colonization in the Miao area. The Chinese first occupied the region where the rivers flowed down in the southeast, and the Miao retreated to the La-erh plateau, defending themselves behind its natural advantages. The Chinese and the Miao were already divided M according to topography (Illus. 2, 8) some 300 years ago. The 131 frontier wall of that time, although serving as a boundary line 648 between the Chinese and the Miao, became at the same time a

1 [see cat. 116, pp48c and 56a - ANALYST].

/35 cont./

M 361 [363] interconnected. Without a guide one can get lost once inside a chai; turning right and left, one will be unable to find an exit. Chinese passing through a Miao chai often cannot find a single Miao, because they have gone into hiding in small alleys, barring the doors and refusing to come out. The Miao chais are not located along lines of communication but in the deep M [487] mountains and valleys accessible only by small paths. Although visible at a distance, they often cannot be reached. Without modern arms, they cannot be easily taken. For the last few hundred years continuous Miao unrest in western Hunan may be largely related to the fact that their chais were easy to defend and difficult to capture.

M 342 C [342] Houses. — Chinese houses within the Miao area generally are built with walls of sun-dried brick, and roofs covered with tiles. The Miao house is slightly different from the Chinese house. Chinese houses are generally of the three-room type, but Miao houses may consist of one, two, three, four, or five rooms. Wealthy families generally build five-room, two-story houses, with brick walls and tile roofs. Ordinary houses have three rooms with walls made of brick, stone in pieces, or sun-dried brick, and a roof covered with tiles or sometimes slates, M [137] pine bark, or thatch. (Illus. 14).[1] Pine trees are abundant in the Miao area /Illus. 11, 12 on pp. 36, 37/ /38/ /Illus. 13 appears here/ and timber is relatively plentiful, hence moderately well-to-do families build two-story houses. Pine bark when pressed flat with stone slabs is used by poor families as a substitute for roof tiles. Slates are abundant in the Miao frontier. The thicker ones are used for building walls and paving streets, the thin ones for roofing. The use of stone slates and bark for roofing is rarely seen in other parts, and it is a distinct feature of the Miao area.

The most common Miao house types are either the two-room type with three pillars and four frames or the three-room type with four pillars and four frames (Illus. 15).[2] In a three-room type house the middle room is the main room. On the M 353 778 177 rear wall is attached an ancestral tablet (in imitation of the

[text continues on p. 63]

[1] see [cat. 116, p64- ANALYST]
[2] [" " , p65- "]

/41 cont./ Among the Miao there are five surnames: Wu, Lung, Liao, Shih, and Ma. The arrangement described above is a Lung house of someone with the surname. The families with other surnames place the fireplace, the kitchen stove, and the ancestral shrine on the right-hand room, just the opposite of the Lung surname families. In the two-room type of house the fire pit is in back of the middle pillar, and the stove is located in the room on the left (Illus. 16). The partition into two or three rooms is done by means of the pillars and not by walls or screens. In the houses of wealthy families side rooms are built on both sides of the main house (Illus. 17). If the side rooms should have two stories, then the top story is for the storage of grain and the ground floor for rearing domestic animals. The toilet space in a Miao house is often in the pig pen or in the cow stall, and used both by men and women. Travelers in the Miao area find the using of the toilet a painful ordeal, because the stench is unbearable. Besides the storage loft the Miao house often has underground storage, dug underground about a chang deep and divided into two or three bins for storing foreign potatoes or sweet potatoes. After the sweet potatoes, etc. are stored underground, they are covered with a bamboo-plaited cover, to allow free circulation of air. If the potatoes spoil, it is necessary to wait for some time after the bamboo covering has been removed before going down. Or, one goes down with a light; if the light goes out, it indicates the presence of carbon dioxide, and one must refrain from entering. There is no difference between the agricultural implements used by the Miao and by the Chinese, but the furniture in a Miao house is much smaller in size than those used by the Chinese (Illus. 17).

Roads. — The communication system in the Miao area consists of land routes and waterways. The most important waterway is the T'ung Ho, because it is navigable for a comparatively long distance, and it goes deep into Miao country. This river starts at Lu Ch'i and goes toward the mouth, extending 17 li to Su-mu Ch'i, ten more li to Hsien-ch'i-t'ang, another 21 li to Nung-t'an, 15 more li to T'an Ch'i, ten more

MC 487 /41 cont./ li to Ta-pi-liu, another ten li to Ch'e-ch'i, and 30 more li to Ho Ch'i. From the mouth of the river to Ho Ch'i, some 130 li, the waterway is known as the Wu Ch'i River. Above Ho Ch'i it divides into two branches, south and north: the northern branch, known as the Wan-yung Chiang, runs ten li to Chang-p'ai-chai, where it again divides into two more branches, one flowing westward as the Wan-yung Chiang proper, passing through Ta-chuang and Hsiao-chuang for 50 li to Kan-ch'eng. The other branch, which flows northwestward, is known as Kao-yen Ho, and goes 15 li to Chen-ch'i-so, 15 li to Hsien-chen-ying, ten li to Chen-ning-ying, 20 li to P'ing-lang, five li to Wei-che, eight li to Hsün-chien-p'ing, 20 li to Kao-yen-hsin. The branch flowing south of Ho Ch'i, known as the T'o Chiang, flows through Ch'i-k'ou, Chiang-chün-yen, and Mao Chou to Lao-hu-k'ou for about 60 li, and then passing Lao-hu-k'ou it flows from Mu-lung-ti Chiang to Feng-huang for another 70 li.

The parts of the T'ung Ho navigable by small craft are: the Wu Ch'i, 113 li; the Wan-yung Chiang, 60 li; /Illus. 16, 17 on pp. 42, 43/ /44/ the Kao-yen Ho, 93 li; and the T'o Chiang, 130 li; totaling 296 li in all. These river courses are difficult to navigate and are not passable all year round.

MC 487 502 133 Miao Fang-pei Lan in the section on roads and waterways says: "This river (the T'ung Ho) has precipitous cliffs standing up like daggers, strange rocks clustering like a forest of spears, and rioting cataracts. Through slight negligence a boat can be crashed into pieces. It dries up in autumn and winter, causing difficulty in transportation. It is only in summer when mountain streams rush down from the Miao villages, that small craft may ply here and there. However, the cliffs and rocks become more dangerous as the water rises. Once a sandbank is reached, a day is often spent in lifting the boat across to deep water. The difficulty of crossing such banks is twice as much as in other rivers."

MC 487 The Ch'en Chiang waterway starts from the city of Ch'en-ch'i-hsien and joins the Lo-hao Ch'i /tributary/ at Kao-ts'un

[text continues on p.70]

C M 487 C M [505] [502] C M [505] C M 501 C M [505] C 491 [563] [648] M [487]

/44 cont./

about 97 li away. When the water rises in the summer, the river is navigable by small crafts to Yen-men and Shin-yang-shao. The total cargo weight of a boat cannot exceed a few shih, and the boat has to be towed or lifted by boatmen wading through the sand and rocks. Although the distance is short, the voyage is very strenuous.

The 270 li of the Yu Chiang from Yüan-ling to Pao-ching is navigable by small craft, carrying cargo not over several shih in weight, and covering only about a dozen li per day. From Pao-ching the river empties into the Sung-t'ao Ho, and when the water rises in the summer, light boats can go as far as Hua-yüan and Mi-no at Yung-sui, and may even be able to reach the city of Sung-t'ao.

The boat used in the Miao area generally measures nine kung ch'ih in length, divided into seven holds, the middle hold being the widest, about one kung ch'ih in width (Illus. 18, 19). The oar, the paddle, the pole, the mast, and other attachments of the boat are not different from those seen elsewhere, except that at the bow there is a long paddle about six kung ch'ih long, which is used for coming down the sandbanks. Traveling upstream offers the greatest difficulty. Every time a sandbank is crossed, the boat has to be poled, lifted, towed, or pushed by several dozen men. Their chanting is as loud as the angry waves.

From the middle of the Ming period up to the beginning of the Ch'ing period, soldiers were sent into the Miao area. The most important duty of the military garrisons was to keep the communication lines open for troops and food supplies. So the construction of roads and bridges in the area appears monumental. There are four kinds of land routes: the main road connecting Yunnan with Kweichow is the official road; the roads connecting the various military posts are military roads; the roads traversed by the Chinese people are civilian roads; and the small winding paths leading to Miao settlements are Miao roads. Taking Feng-huang as the center, the official road leads

C /44 cont./
491 to Ch'en-chou, Mo-yang, and Chih-chiang; the military roads
M lead to Kan-ch'eng, Yung-sui, and T'ung-jen; the civilian
[487] roads lead to P'u-shih and Kan-ch'eng; and the Miao roads are on both sides of the military routes, threading out in all directions so numerous that they defy enumeration. The official and the military roads are all paved with stone slabs (Illus. 20), requiring considerable construction work. The civilian roads were not constructed in a uniform way, those passing prosperous areas being much better than others. The Miao paths generally
M [487] follow the contours of the mountains and require very little human labor. As to the means of transportation, travelers /Illustrations 18-26 occur on pp. 45-52/ /53/ generally ride horses
C M [492] [493] or ride in sedan chairs (Illus. 21), while cargo is carried by carriers on their backs.

[482] Bridges. — The bridge in the Miao area involve considerable construction work. On important communication roads, they generally built three or five-arch bridges (Illus. 11),
C [485] on which were built houses for hotels and restaurants for the convenience of travelers. Places where a river is wide and shallow are spanned by long bridges (Illus. 22, 23). Places where a river is wide and deep are crossed by rope bridges (Illus. 24). In small streams which are narrow and have sandbanks they sat up stone steps, customarily called "ho shui ch'iao /"bridge enclosing the water"/ (Illus. 25), or they build small bridges (Illus. 26) over them.

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

hill and looks about him, he frequently sees all around, as far as the eye can reach, an ocean of little hills, sometimes hundreds of them. They are of every conceivable shape, among which the pyramid and sugar-loaf shape are very common. Most of these hills are bare and barren, and there is little timber to be seen. The valleys between are for the most part narrow, and what might be called the plains are seldom very long or very broad. There are innumerable caves and caverns among these hills, some of which are very large. In some places streams, only fordable in certain parts, disappear into the bowels of the earth, and come out again a considerable distance away. There are many waterfalls to be seen, some of which after a heavy fall of rain are magnificent. 133

There are very few waterways in Kweichow, as most of the streams only become navigable as they are leaving the province. The longest navigable river, the Chang-ki, is a branch of the Yüan River, and joins what is called the main stream from Chenyüan at the city of Kienyang Hun in Hunan. This stream, which flows through a region occupied for the most part by Heh Miao, is navigable when in flood almost to Tuyün, and all the year round as far as Kai-li in the Tsingpinghsien district. The boat- 133 487

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

men on this river are nearly all Heh Miao, who convey goods to and from Hungkiang in Hunan. This stream, however, in consequence of long and difficult rapids, is only navigable for small boats, whereas the Chenyüan branch is navigable for river boats of the largest size. This lack of waterways, and the fact that there is no road, as far as we know, in the province over which a wheeled vehicle could be drawn or driven, makes the conveyance of produce a costly undertaking. Everything has to be carried by coolies, or on the backs of ponies and mules, and consequently it doubles the cost of rice to carry it one hundred and twenty miles.

The population of Kweichow is probably between seven and ten millions. In speaking of numbers, in the absence of trustworthy census returns, it must be understood that we are giving opinions formed from our own observation, influenced by the estimates of others who are as well qualified to judge as ourselves. In this way, then, we put the population of the province at between seven and ten millions, and reckon that one-half of these are Chinese and the rest mostly Miao and Chung-chia.

To a traveller passing through Kweichow, the Chinese would appear to greatly outnumber the non-Chinese. This is because the Chinese

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

of Na Kw'a Tai Lo, meaning great and kindly teacher. It is my hope that this study will contribute to a better understanding of the Ch'uan Miao.

I. INTRODUCTION

South of Suifu in Szechwan Province, on the borders of Szechwan, Kweichow and Yunnan, the mountains rise to an altitude of from three to six thousand feet. There are many high peaks, precipices, perpendicular or overhanging cliffs, forests, waterfalls, natural bridges, and streams disappearing into the mountainsides and reappearing far away. While the roads between Chinese towns and villages are generally paved with stone slabs, many of the roads are narrow footpaths, sometimes steep and dangerous, winding up the mountainsides or through the fields and forests. This is the home of the Ch'uan Miao people.

This ethnic group, which is generally called a tribe, includes about one hundred and fifty thousand people. They are found as far north as Kunghsien 珙縣 and Ch'angning 長寧, about one hundred *li* east of Yung Ning 永寧, as far south as Ta Kuan 大關 in Yunnan Province, and as far west as Sui Chiang Hsien 綏江縣. In the same region is a much larger population of Chinese, for the Ch'uan Miao do not live in a territory by themselves but are interspersed among the Chinese people.

These people resemble the Chinese in having a light, olive-brown skin and very little hair on the face, but they differ from the Chinese in West China in being slightly shorter in statue and in having a less evident epichanthic fold or Mongolian slant to the eyes; there are greater physical differences between the Ch'uan Miao and the Lolos (Nosu) and Tibetans.

Below is given a very brief comparison of vocabularies. From Samuel R. Clarke[1] I have borrowed all, with two or three slight changes, except the Ch'uan Miao. The romanization is that of Clarke and as far as possible, I have made the romanization of the Ch'uan Miao words correspond for similar sounds. A comparison of the languages and of the social and religious customs, makes it evident that the Ch'uan Miao are a branch of the Miao-Yao Group and of the Mon-Khmer Family.[2]

1. S. R. Clarke: Among the Tribes of South West China, pp. 307-315. Morgan and Scott, London, 1911.
2. H. R. Davies: Yunnan, pp. 331-347. Cambridge University Press, 1909.

39: Bernatzik--354 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand AO1
AKha AO4
Miao AE5

Detail Map

of the Northern Section of the Bernatzik Expedition to Farther India

AMT
102
103
131
133
487
491
496

Miao AE5

/264/

241
251
256
312
354
361
417
487
342/

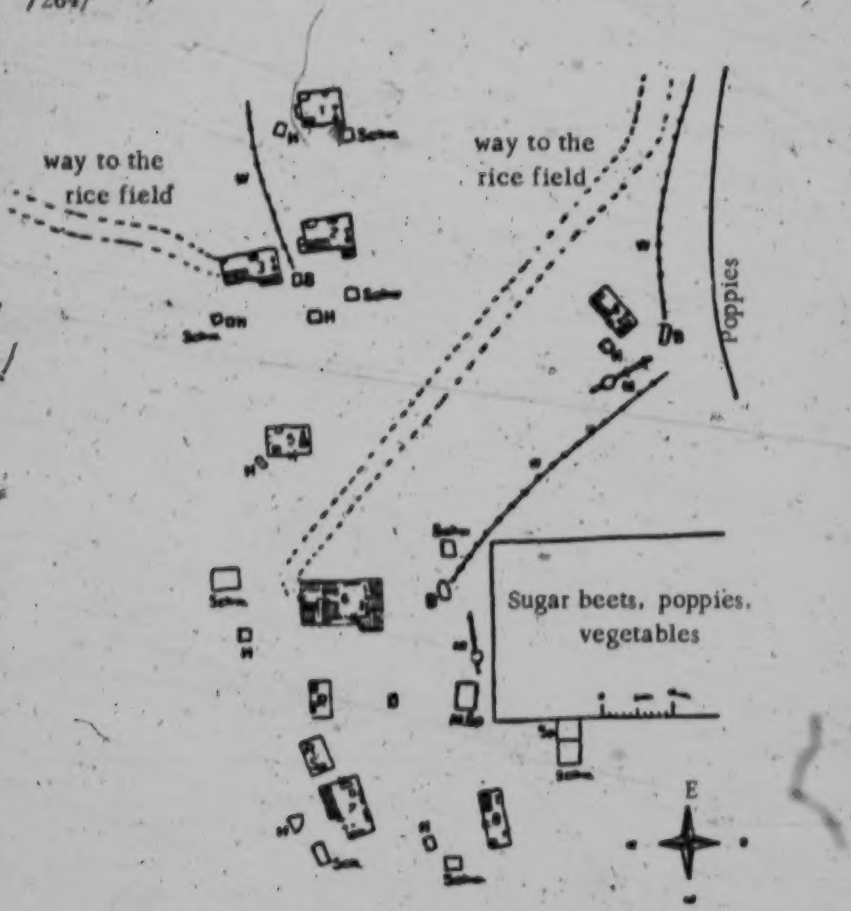

Fig. 57. Plan of the Meau Village Nam Fa.

Key to symbols:

1-8 = Dwellings	B = Wells
▭ = Sleeping places	R = Cattle stable
⊢⊣○ = Rice pounder	M. Sp. = Maize granary
□ = Hearth	R. Sp. = Rice granary
Schw. = Pigpen	M = Rice mill
H = Chicken coop	Sch. = Smithy
W = Water line	D = Village square

39: Bernatzik--565 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

Chapter 22

Communication

133
487 The mountainous land in northern Thailand, cut up by steep valleys, is covered with dense primeval forest; treeless
[137] or stony slopes are rare. This gives the difficult mountain paths, which almost exclusively represent the lines of communication, a different character than we customarily associate with the idea of a mountain path. If one of these paths in northern Thailand
[491] leads across a brook, a mighty tree trunk usually forms the only bridge. Other facilities are unknown; there are no suspension bridges or corduroy roads. To be sure, deep streams which, for lack of a bridge, one would have to swim across are also absent. Nor are there streams which would make navigation possible. If the "road" in a valley follows a stream downward, then the bed of the stream is at the same time the path. Regular communication is therefore possible only during the dry season, whereas during the rains, the rising, torrential mountain streams isolate the individual villages.

487 In Indochina the routes of communication built and maintained by the Meau hardly seem to differ from those in Thailand, for Savina (1) writes concerning them: 'Never yet

1. II, p. 181.

has a Meau taken the trouble to make or to improve a path in
[461] the forest with a hatchet." According to my experience, however, carelessness or laziness is not the cause of this condition of the lines of communication, as Savina apparently assumes but rather the generally great burden of work of the Meau. Every individual among the Meau in northern Thailand gives the impression of being burdened beyond his physical capacity.
[361] Moreover, the Meau live in the smallest of villages; the paths are therefore little used and rapidly become overgrown again.

/424 cont./

439 has already been mentioned, obtain iron, metal pots and pans, flints, matches, sulphur needed for the making of gunpowder, salt, insofar as it is not purchased directly from the neighboring valley peoples, cowrie shells, buttons, cretonne, silk, small mirrors, thread, needles, and embroidery thread. Unfortunately, these traders also bring in fabrics whose importation is superfluous. Moreover, they sell the coveted magic articles and amulets and deal in children for adoption, or even women.

The traders make a profit of several hundredfold, since, [435] besides their not very pronounced commercial talent, the Meau lack the connection with the rest of the world needed for a proper evaluation of the worth of their wares.

Business with the traders, who scrupulously seek out village after village, takes place during the dry season, since [487] the mountain paths are impassable in the rainy season. A trade journey of the Haw therefore takes months. The wares desired by the Meau are carried by porters and pack animals up and down through the mountainous terrain and through the virgin forests. 437 Barter, formerly the only type of trade, is still widely practiced. 439 In the first place there is the raw opium of the Meau, and then stags' horns, the horns of the rhinoceros, and irovy. Rattan lianas, finished baskets, and field produce also serve as articles for barter, primarily the latter because the many porters of the traders need food.

436 Besides the traditional barter goods, a means of payment 437 used today is a range of kinds of money, and, to be sure, from those countries that have been traversed by the Meau. For the most part, the coins in circulation are those which officially represent the currency of the country in which the Meau happen to be living. Thus, in Burmese territory rupees are principally used, in Thailand ticals, in Indochina piasters, on Chinese territory the current Chinese standard; interestingly enough, besides these kinds of money, Russian coins are said to have been in circulation among the Meau in former times.